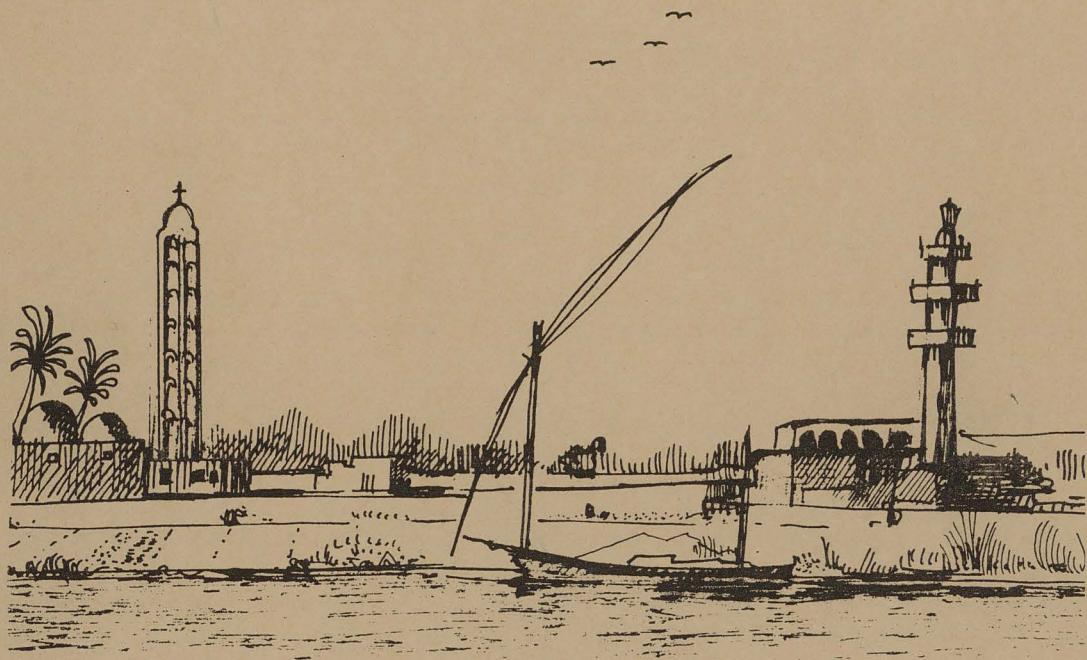


anno XV

AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

NEWSLETTER



NUMBER 119

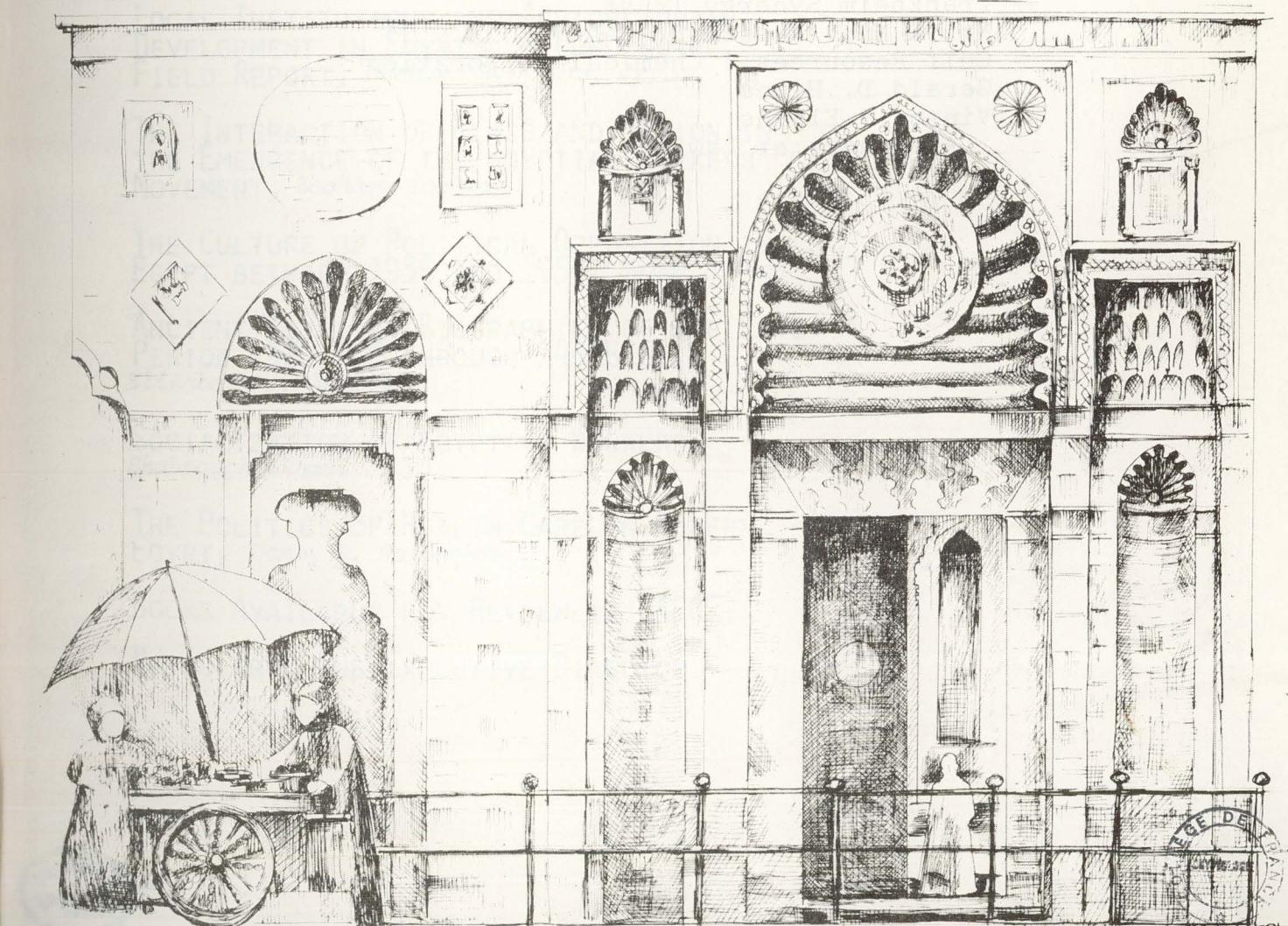
FALL 1982

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THE ARCE NEWSLETTER

NUMBER 119, FALL 1982

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THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY (CHICAGO HOUSE)
PART 2: THE INSTITUTE FUNCTION OF CHICAGO HOUSE
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE 1980-81 FIELD SEASON)

The expedition house of the Epigraphic Survey is located in Luxor on a three-acre plot of land owned by the Trustees of the University of Chicago. Operational in October of 1931, it replaced the original Chicago House, which had been built on the west bank of the Nile in 1924. The old house (now Sheikh Aly's Hotel) was abandoned when it proved to be not only too small and inconveniently located, but structurally unsound as well, infested with termites. The new house, designed in the California-Spanish style by L. LeGrande Hunter and L. C. Woolman, two young graduates of the University of Pennsylvania School of Architecture, was realized with the generous assistance of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Hardly luxurious, it still should not be compared to the usual dig houses occupied by other archaeological expeditions working around the world. Constructed in fired brick, concrete, and steel, the Chicago House compound was designed specifically to meet the very specialized needs of the Epigraphic Survey, providing living quarters, a comprehensive library, offices, studios, and a darkroom, as well as domestic workrooms and storage areas. "The comfortable home...and well equipped workrooms...there provided for the members of the expedition, with a complete Egyptological library...constantly accessible, have transformed the task of salvaging the ancient records of Egypt, as contrasted with the situation of the great recording expeditions or, indeed, of any of our predecessors in this field. In the library the members of the expedition can turn at any moment to the complete record of our knowledge of the Egyptian language and writing..." (Breasted, The Oriental Institute, p.200; cf. Medinet Habu I, p.x). A machine shop, carpenter's shop, and our own generator, deep water well, refrigerators and freezer, orchard, banana plantation, and vegetable garden, launch and cars give us a considerable measure of self-sufficiency and independence in our local surroundings. Given the length of our annual six-month season, our demanding work schedule (a six-day week of forty-two hours), our relative isolation in Upper Egypt, the often enervating weather, and the close living conditions, the modest comfort which the house affords is absolutely essential to the promotion of good work.

As the only permanent headquarters of any American archaeological mission operating regularly within Egypt, Chicago House

also functions unofficially as an American Egyptological research institute, corresponding to the German and French national archaeological institutes. We have traditionally made our facilities available to visiting Egyptologists and their students, as well as members of other archaeological expeditions and the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. Because of the convenience of our location, we can offer a great variety of services. We act as a communications and travel center, relaying mail, telephone calls, telexes, cables, and other messages, and making our cars available when necessary; we serve as a base camp and staging area for expeditions working nearby, providing work areas, storage space, short-term accommodations, even over-night parking; we lend surveying, photographic, and drawing equipment, ladders, scaffolding, packing crates and steamer trunks; our experts give advice and assistance on technical and scholarly matters, including the use and repair of equipment; our driver services expedition vehicles, and our expeditor assists in the acquisition of materials and supplies obtainable locally; we permit the use of our darkroom during off-hours; and we provide administrative support (including transferring, advancing, disbursing, and holding funds).

The Chicago House library, with holdings of approximately 15,000 items, is one of the most important Egyptological libraries in the world. It was established in 1927, with the generous support of Mr. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, and the Rockefeller General Education Board of New York, whose Secretary was then Dr. Abraham Flexner. Its completeness within Egypt is rivalled only by the library of the Cairo Museum, and there is nothing like it outside Cairo. The library is indispensable to the Epigraphic Survey; but scholars are also attracted to it from all over the world, and many expeditions depend on it for the success of their own field work. Our equally impressive photographic archive of 13,000 large-format negatives (mostly of monuments in the Luxor area) is constantly referred to in Porter and Moss, often as the only available documentation for a scene or inscription. Consulted by colleagues in Luxor, prints from this collection are made available through the Museum Office of the Oriental Institute in Chicago; and they frequently appear in scholarly and semi-popular publications. We also have a large reference collection of photographic prints whose negatives are held by other institutions.

The library continued its steady growth in 1980-81, with some reorganization called for the next season, so that additional shelving can be added to accommodate recent acquisitions in a logical fashion. Routine maintenance in the library is limited to a daily schedule of dusting the shelves in rotation (assisted by a vacuum cleaner), and wrapping each shelf in newspaper with mothballs at the end of the season to protect the books from dust and insects during the five months the house is normally closed every summer. The stability of the

temperature and humidity inside the library has itself proven supportive of long-term preservation. We put locks on the oversized cabinets this year to restrict casual and unnecessary usage of our most valuable and easily damaged volumes. We also increased our insurance, doubling the fire insurance and tripling the theft; even so the property is terribly underevaluated. Many books are irreplaceable, and should be photocopied or microfilmed. Research conducted on one particularly rare volume (only one copy is known in America, at the Wilbour Library of The Brooklyn Museum), containing a collection of plates made from the drawings of Jean Jacques Rifaud during his travels in Egypt in 1805-27, revealed an apparently unique list of the noble and royal subscribers to this work.

In 1980-81, our guest rooms and/or library and photographic archive were utilized by representatives of more than 33 universities, museums, research institutes, and expeditions, as well as many other individuals. The nationalities represented in this number include American, Canadian, British, French, Polish, West German, Swiss, Austrian, Belgian, Swedish, Italian, Japanese, and Egyptian. The Americans included staff members of the University of Chicago's Quseir Project, as well as four other expeditions sponsored by the American Research Center in Egypt and four ARCE Fellows. The Egyptians included members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, the Center for the Study and Documentation of Ancient Egypt, Alexandria University's Naqada Expedition, and a faculty member and graduate assistant in Egyptology from Sohag University. Our Land Rovers were used by members of two American projects.

Our dinners, receptions, parties, movie screenings, and the annual lecture series co-sponsored by the Director of Antiquities in Southern Upper Egypt and the Governor of Qena Province (which we also help Dr. Labib Habachi organize) provide numerous occasions for informal international gatherings between members of the Luxor community and the various foreign missions operating in the Luxor area. During the 1980-81 season, we also hosted several staff members of the American Embassy in Cairo, including Ambassador Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., and his wife and family, the Scientific Counselor, Dr. Thomas Vrebalovich, and his wife; and the Commercial Attache, Ms. Michele Bova. In early May (while the Field Director was still struggling with accounts in Luxor), we received two visitors from the Smithsonian Institution, Mrs. Gretchen Ellsworth, Director of the Office of Fellowships and Grants, and Dr. Alice Ilchman, Special Consultant on American Research Institutes Abroad, both travelling to Luxor in the company of Dr. James P. Allen, Director of the American Research Center in Egypt, and his wife Susan.

We have been described as a "bridge" between the people of the United States and Egypt. Locally, we are frequently taken to represent a responsible American presence; and we

are routinely asked to assist in a wide variety of matters affecting the work of the various archaeological expeditions operating in the Luxor area. Many tourists also seem to regard us as a public relations office, visiting us for directions, information on local facilities, medical advice, bringing questions on archaeology and ancient history, and even (in November of 1980) on the results of the American elections.

Much of the Field Director's time is taken up by matters directly related to the operation and maintenance of Chicago House itself. Besides the preparation of accounts submitted before leaving Cairo, other administrative headaches which fell to the Field Director this season included following an elaborate procedure to establish that a major violation of work rules had occurred, in preparing a case for the firing of a workman; securing our claim to the landing in front of Chicago House, to prevent enormous tourist boats from mooring there and depriving us of our river view and privacy; fighting an attempt to establish a motor vehicle inspection station on the sidewalk just outside our fence; and protesting an unwarranted increase in our real-estate tax assessment, from approximately \$85.00 per annum to something in excess of \$2,000.00. At the time of the Field Director's departure from Luxor in the middle of May in 1981, we had appealed to reclassify Chicago House under a local regulation completely exempting from taxation all structures built before 1940.

Inflation in Egypt remains a serious problem. Naturally, the pay scale of the Epigraphic Survey cannot compare with that of the lucrative tourist trade in Luxor, a factor directly responsible for the resignation this year of one of our best paid employees, and contributing to the departure of another. And this despite the fact that our local salaries have increased overall more than 48.5% in less than three years, including mandated annual raises, overtime, and incentive. Outstanding individual increases range over 63% (chief cook), 60.5% (chief of housekeeping), 54% (senior guardian), and 51% (chief of library services). The major adjustments of the most inadequate salaries have now been accomplished, and a certain equilibrium attained, with future rises expected to level off at a 10-15% per annum. Labor costs represent a significant amount in our total Egyptian budget, and cause a special concern as the end of Smithsonian funding approaches.

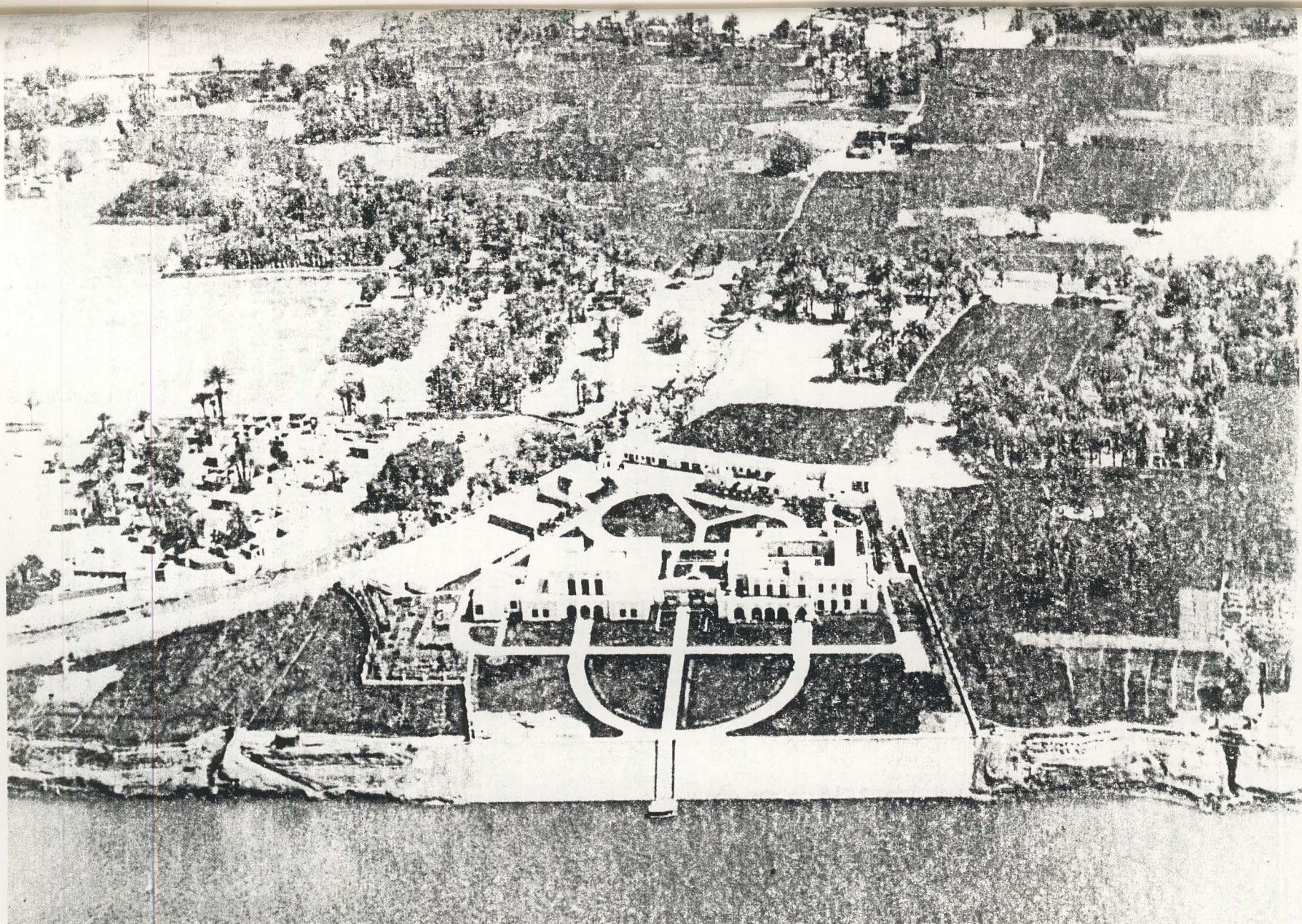
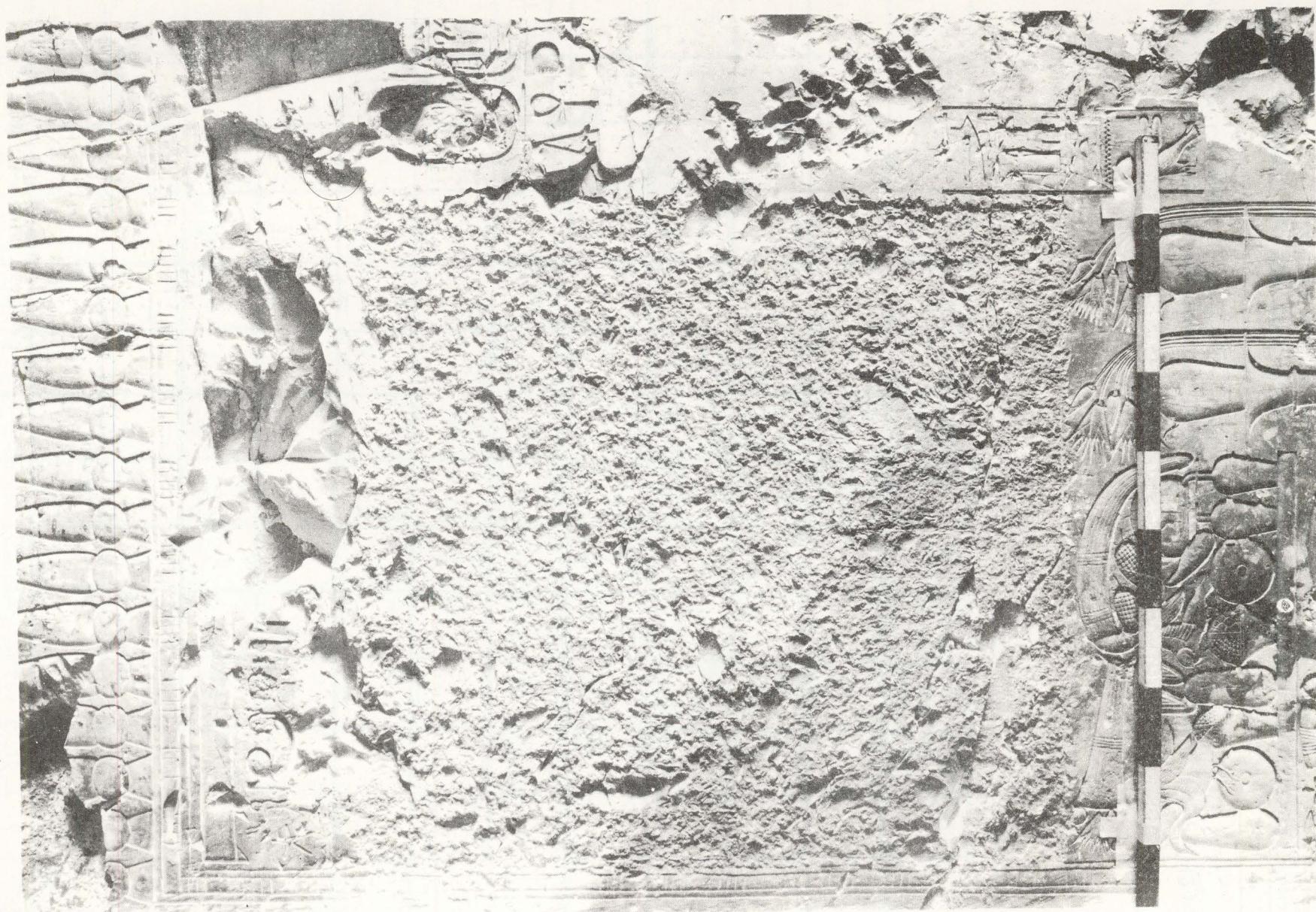
The present Chicago House, opened in 1931 and expanded in 1933, is now an historic building in its own right. Remarkably well built, it has endured with an absolute minimum of maintenance; but in the last few years, breakdowns due to the age of the physical plant had become a serious problem. In response, we have undertaken a comprehensive program of restoration and renovation. We expect the major repairs begun in 1978 to be largely accomplished before the end of the

1982-83 season. We have already completed rewiring and re-plumbing the complex. Maintenance in 1980-81 included the replacement of broken tiles on the kitchen and bathroom walls in October and November, and the installation of a new central water heater, when the old one rusted through a week before Christmas. We put a new tank on the darkroom roof to help settle out some of the sediment in our water supply and raise the water temperature for processing during the winter months. Minor refurbishing included the re-caning of all the chairs and couches in the residence wing. In addition, we rebuilt the brakes of our 1950 Chevrolet (driven out to Egypt by George Hughes in the fall of 1949) with spare parts carried from America. The treat of sudden failures in vital building systems is no longer imminent; and we can now celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this magnificent complex secure in the knowledge that it is ready to serve our needs into the next century.

Lanny Bell, William Murnane,
and Bernard Fishman

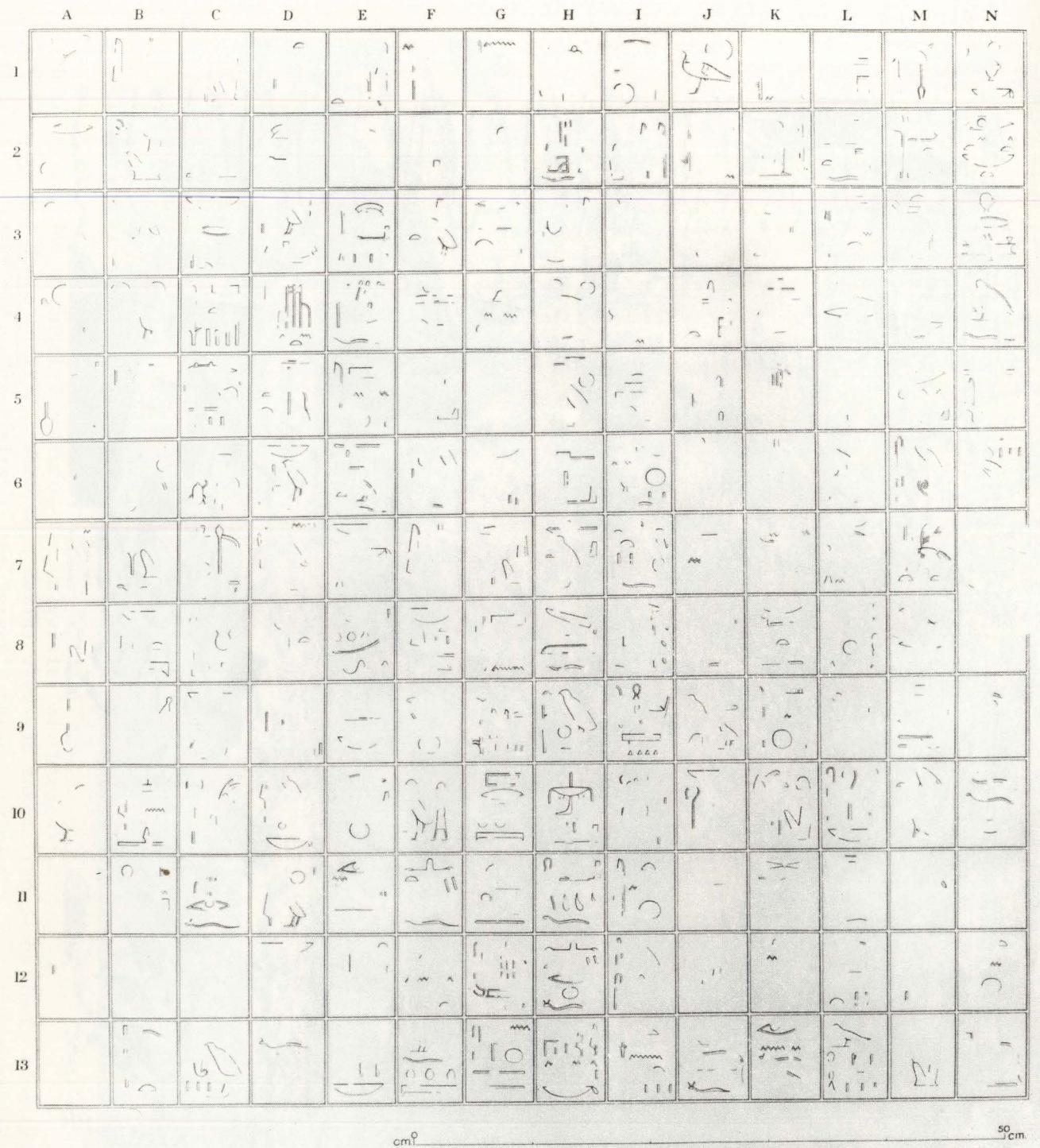
[Please note the following correction for "The Epigraphic Survey", Newsletter 118, p.11:

"the canopy is inscribed with the name of Horemheb, in a format similar to that employed in the restored canopies on the Eight Pylon. Since Horemheb usurped the rest of the Colonnade's reliefs from Tutankhamun, it would seem that he also decorated the south end of the Colonnade (which Tutankhamun had left uncarved) in paint."]



(Photo 22323, The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago)

The New Chicago House in 1933. When this aerial view was taken from James Henry Breasted's plane, Chicago House was only two years old. The limits of the Survey's three-acre plot are clearly visible, since the land is still nearly bare of vegetation. Most of the compound remains essentially unchanged today, but the sweeping vista of the Nile was sacrificed in the mid-1930s when Luxor's river road to Karnak temple was laid down.



Drawing of traces in crossword square in Tomb of Kheruef (No. 192).
Drawing Reg Coleman. (=Kheruef, pl.14)



Reconstruction of inscription in crossword square in Tomb of Kheruef (No. 192). Drawing Reg Coleman. (=Kheruef, pl.15)

A PRELIMINARY REPORT
ON THE
1982 SEASON AT HIERAKONPOLIS

Lying approximately 500 river miles (805 km.) south of Cairo and 83 miles (134 km.) north of Aswan on the western bank of the Nile, Hierakonpolis played a critical role in the emergence of the Egyptian state about 3100 B.C. Known to the ancient Egyptians as Nekhen, Hierakonpolis boasts a wealth of archaeological remains dating back to Acheulean times, about a quarter of a million years ago, and extending down through the Ptolemaic era into the first century B.C. The Predynastic sites here are reputed to be the most extensive in Egypt and stretch for approximately 2.5 km. along the edge of cultivation and 3.5 km. into the Western Desert along an ancient drainage course known to archaeologists as the Great or Fort Wadi and to local residents as the Wadi Abul Suffian. The Predynastic sites of this region were the direct predecessors of the great walled town of Nekhen that flourished under the first six dynasties (ca. 3100 - 2250 B.C.).

The 1982 season at Hierakonpolis began on January 27 and concluded on March 9.1 Research concentrated on the Predynastic sites that have been the focal point of our activities in the 1969, 1978, 1979 and 1980 seasons (Hoffman 1970, 1972, 1980a, 1980b & 1980c; Hoffman et al 1981 and Harlan 1980).

Our primary research objectives included: (1) excavations in the Locality 6 cemetery to establish the spatial arrangement and internal chronology of the various Predynastic components; (2) a regional archaeological reconnaissance of the Hierakonpolis alluvial embayment to determine the boundaries of Predynastic population units; and (3) completion of the faunal analysis of approximately 3,500 identifiable animal bones from two previously excavated Amratian settlements (ca. 3800 - 3500 B.C.) at Localities 29 and 11C, as part of an overall program to study the paleoecology of the Hierakonpolis region.

Additional goals accomplished this season included: (1) a statistical analysis of five Amratian "Red Ware" pottery kilns; (2) measurement and partial reconstruction of three Predynastic (ca. 3200 - 3100 B.C.) ceramic coffins, one of which (found in 1980) was incised with depictions of cattle and birds; (3) production of latex molds of some important Predynastic petroglyphs at Locality 61; (4) drawing of this

year's small finds; (5) initial recording of Dynastic quarry inscriptions at Locality 64; and (6) production of a short documentary film on our work by Shadi Abdelsalam.

At Locality 6 three tombs (numbers 10, 11 and 12) were excavated. All dated to the Protodynastic (Naqada III) Period and all had been looted previously. Tombs 10 and 11 were large, rectangular, mudbrick-lined structures, while Tomb 12 was a small, stone-cut, oblong pit containing the remains of six baboons. Careful and systematic excavations produced evidence of wooden superstructures around Tombs 10 and 11. These appeared as lines of post molds and, along with information recovered in 1979, suggest that model temples or palaces were erected above the tombs of Protodynastic rulers. Pottery indicated that Tomb 10 probably dates immediately before the unification (ca. 3100 B.C.), while Tomb 11 is somewhat earlier. These graves were members of different tomb groups. Apparently each Protodynastic ruler or ruling family had its own separate burial plot. The larger tomb (#10) contained only pottery, a ruined ceramic coffin and a fired clay seal (Figure 1) with two signs, one of which clearly is the hieroglyph for "town", while the other may be translated "god" or may be too general to correctly interpret. It is apparent both from archaeological evidence and Garstang's account (1907) that Tomb 10 was probably looted in the early part of this century as well as in ancient times. Such was not the case with Tomb 11, where a wide array of grave goods illustrate the wealth of the original occupants of the cemetery. Among the objects found in Tomb 11 were numerous fragments of carved bone and ivory; pieces of finely carved wooden furniture (Figure 2); ground stone beads, inlay and gaming pieces; obsidian, quartz crystal and cryptocrystalline blades and micro-blades; two life-sized, carved, fly beads of lapis lazuli and a shell bead of both the natural material and lapis; beads of turquoise, lapis, faience and carnelian; copper fragments; a silver rivet; gold beads and thin gold foil; a finely wrought basalt cup; the rim of a faience jar and numerous ceramic figurines.

The baboon tomb (#12), although it contained no in situ artifacts, dates stylistically and distributionally to the Protodynastic Period and is part of an extensive "animal quarter" that once surrounded the large stone tomb (#2) we cleared in 1979 (Hoffman 1980c). Analysis of surface finds and use of our 1:250 scale map suggest that the animal cemetery, in addition to the already excavated tombs of baboons, cattle, dogs and sheep/goat, contained elephant, hippopotamus and crocodile clustered in one segment of Locality 6.

The archaeological reconnaissance surveyed the desert borders of the six-km.-long alluvial embayment that surrounds the Wadi Abul Suffian (and Nekhen) and which probably formed the geographic core of the original Predynastic political unit. The reconnaissance covered the desert from El Kih in the south

to El Kula in the north, penetrating 2 to 3 km. into the Western Desert and covering an area of about 12 to 18 square kilometers. Special emphasis was accorded to the seven wadis between El Kilh and El Kula in order to understand the apparently unique attraction of the Wadi Abul Suffian for prehistoric settlement. A total of 29 sites were located and described (most not Predynastic) and 11 recorded on survey forms.

As part of the reconnaissance our 1:4000 topographic map of the area around the Wadi Abul Suffian (Hoffman 1980c and Hoffman et al 1981) was extended approximately 1 km. north of the wadi's mouth and about 300 m. into the desert. All Predynastic sites in this area have now been mapped precisely and seriation is in process. Provisionally, most of the settlement sites north of the wadi mouth seem to be Gerzean or Protodynastic (ca. 3500 - 3100 B.C.) in contrast to the area south of the wadi where the bulk of occupation (especially beyond about 500 m. from the edge of cultivation) is Amratian (Hoffman 1980c: Figure 4).

Analysis of about 3,500 identifiable bones from Amratian Localities 29 and 11C confirmed the economic distinctions originally noted between these two roughly contemporaneous sites (McArdle 1981: 101-106) and suggests the complexity of the Predynastic transhumant subsistence economy and the importance of micro-ecological niches and climatic change in the initial establishment of Predynastic culture in the Hierakonpolis region shortly after 4000 B.C.

Five pottery kilns used in producing the fine Un-Tempered Plum Red Ware that has become a hallmark of the Predynastic were studied this season. All of these sites lie in natural wind tunnels along the northern cliffs bordering the Wadi Abul Suffian. The size of the sites (in terms of pottery density) vary greatly and preliminary analysis of the differing frequencies of rim and ware types and the technological characteristics of wasters from each site indicate that they were all part of an integrated, functionally interdependent system. All Red Ware kilns date to the Amratian and seem to be related to the initial growth of a regional elite at Hierakonpolis between about 3800 and 3500 B.C. From a distributional point of view, it is interesting that the graves of the Amratian elite--the largest recorded from this period--lie just below the kilns in the upstream end of Locality 6. Although it is technically incorrect to refer to Red Ware as a purely mortuary pottery (it occurs in varying amounts in contemporary settlements), its primary use was as grave goods. Therefore, it is felt that by studying the technology and organization of Red Ware production and relating this to adjacent mortuary and settlement sites, we are, in reality, studying one of the principal causes for the initial economic growth of a social elite in Early Predynastic (i.e., Amratian or Naqada I) times.

Finally, several of our staff members devoted their time to analysis, mending and illustration of the artifacts recovered from Tombs 10 and 11, to pottery seriation and to special studies of Protodynastic ceramic coffins and Amratian or Gerzean petroglyphs.

A more detailed, preliminary report on the 1982 season is now in preparation and will supplement the accounts of our 1978, 1979 and 1980 seasons provided in our new monograph, The Predynastic of Hierakonpolis.²

Michael A. Hoffman

NOTES

1. The 1982 season at Hierakonpolis was funded by a grant from the Smithsonian Institution Foreign Currency Program, administered through the American Research Center in Egypt. I would like to thank the personnel of those agencies as well as Professors Fairervis and Baer for their support and to gratefully acknowledge the cooperation and help of our colleagues at the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

My especial thanks to a good-humored, patient and hard working field staff that included: Mr. J. Fred Harlan, Assistant Director and supervisor of the regional archaeological survey; Mr. Carter Lupton, Locality 6 site supervisor; Mrs. Barbara Adams, Egyptologist and artifact analyst; Dr. John McArdle, paleozoologist; Ms. Patricia Hill, graphics coordinator; Mr. Jeremy Geller, assistant archaeologist; Ms. May Trad, assistant archaeologist, Mr. Abu Bakr, Inspector, Egyptian Antiquities Organization; and Ms. Olivia Bosch, assistant artist, archaeologist and registrar. Invaluable, short-term volunteer assistance was rendered by Ms. Bodil Mortensen, Ms. Ann Roth and Ms. Renee Friedman. Welcome professional support services were provided by Mr. Shadi Abdelsalam and Mr. Saleh Marai, film makers and architects and Professor Nabil El Hadidi, paleobotanist, and his students. Our stay in the Edfu area was rendered especially pleasant by the help of Mr. Mamdouh A. Bayumi, Chairman of the Egyptian Ferroalloy Co. and his staff at the Edfu Ferrosilicon Factory and by Mr. Mohammed Ibrahim Aly, Inspector of Antiquities for Edfu.

2. The Predynastic of Hierakonpolis: An Interim Monograph (Alden Press, Oxford, England) is available in the United States through the author c/o Earth Sciences Resources Institute, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C. 29208; in Europe through The Museum Bookshop, 36 Great Russell St., London W.C.1., England; and in Egypt through Professor Nabil El Hadidi, Director of the Herbarium, Cairo University, Giza, Egypt.

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FIGURE 1

CLAY SEAL FROM TOMB 10, LOCALITY 6, HIERAKONPOLIS



0 2 cm.

scale 2:1

FIGURE 2

Wooden furniture legs from Tomb 11, Locality 6, Hierakonpolis

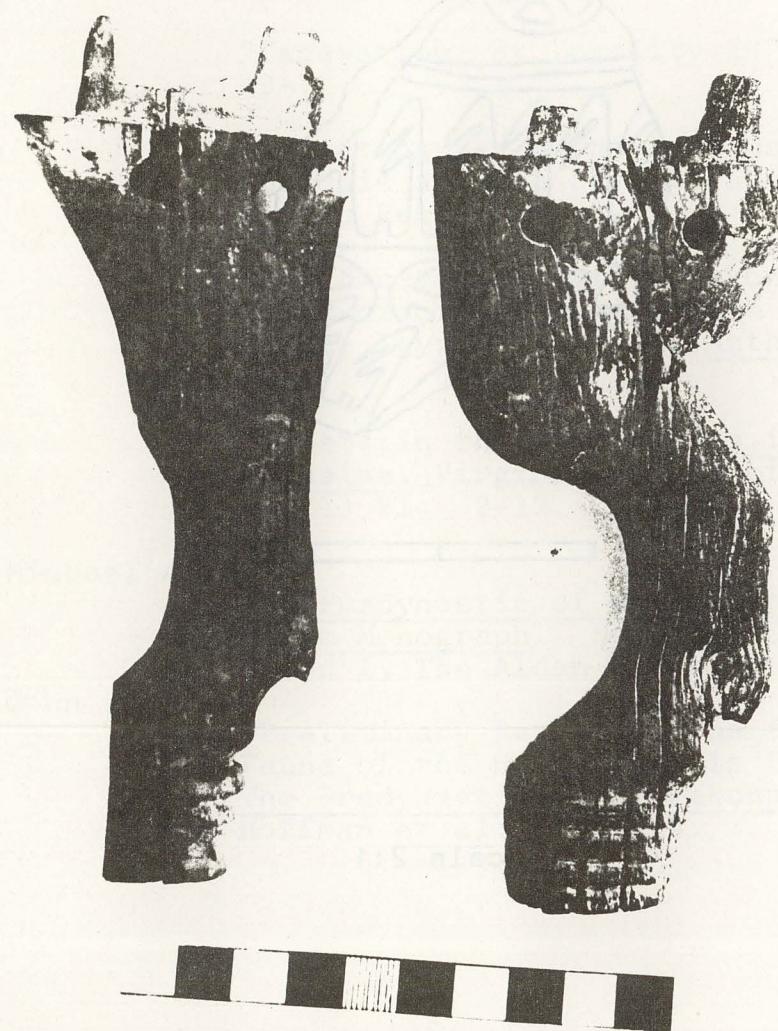


FIGURE 3

Clearance of fill from Tomb 10, Locality 6, Hierakonpolis (Note: neighboring Tomb 1, excavated in 1979, lies underneath screen)



EXCAVATIONS AT QASR IBRIM, 1982

The Egypt Exploration Society (E.E.S.) carried out its 11th season of excavations at Qasr Ibrim, Nubia, between 14 January and 1 April 1982. As in previous seasons, the work was jointly financed by the E.E.S. and by a PL 480 grant administered through ARCE. The expedition directors were John Alexander of Cambridge University and William Y. Adams of the University of Kentucky, assisted by a technical and professional staff of 15 and by a force of 60 Egyptian laborers.

The main objective of the 1982 campaign was to complete the excavation of all Islamic-period house remains, dating from the period between about A.D. 1550 and 1811. These rather crudely built stone houses were thickly clustered over the whole five-acre-surface area of the site. About half of the total area of Islamic houses had been cleared in seasons prior to 1982, and the most recent campaign saw the successful completion of this phase of the Qasr Ibrim excavations.

Qasr Ibrim between 1550 and 1811 was primarily an Ottoman garrison outpost, and had lost most of the religious and commercial significance which the site had enjoyed in earlier centuries. Our excavations showed nevertheless that the place was by no means simply a barracks compound, but rather that a substantial commerce persisted even under the Ottoman regime. None of the buildings excavated in 1982 was recognizably of a military character; for the most part they were large family dwelling compounds, many of which included open courtyards. The largest of the houses were almost certainly polygamous family dwellings, and they may have included slave quarters as well.

Material finds from the Islamic levels were mostly locally made products such as hand-made pottery, basketry and matting, woolen textiles, leather goods, and iron tools. The most interesting imported goods were glass bracelets and beads, Egyptian and Near Eastern glazed pottery, and fine textiles of silk and linen. A very few pieces of Chinese porcelain were also recovered. Perhaps the most unexpected find of the season was a complete sword and scabbard, probably of European origin and dating from the 17th or 18th century.

The 1982 excavations yielded, as usual, several thousand fragmentary written texts and over one hundred complete ones. The vast majority of written material was on paper, but there

were also examples of writing on wood, stone, potsherds, and eggs. Over one hundred of the documents included dates, which range between A.H. 967/A.D. 1559 and A.H. 1223/A.D. 1808. A wide variety of topics are covered in the texts, including military administration, inventories of possessions, official correspondence, and loans. Among the most interesting items are a number of small dockets written in Turkish, relating to the pay of individual soldiers. Some of these relate to the garrison at Sai Island, 200 miles to the south of Qasr Ibrim.

Some excavation was also carried out in house remains of the late medieval period, dating between about A.D. 1150 and 1500. This was during the period when Nubia still adhered to the Coptic Christian faith, despite occasional military incursions by the Ayyubid and Mameluke rulers of Egypt. Qasr Ibrim was then the site of a major cathedral and was also the normal residence of the Eparchs, or Viceroy, who governed Lower Nubia on behalf of the Sudanese Kingdom of Makouria.

Five houses of the late medieval period were excavated in 1982. They were relatively compact, square buildings of a type already well known in Lower Nubia. At least two of the houses had originally been two stories high, with living quarters primarily on the upper floors and storerooms on the ground floor. The largest of the excavated houses was of special interest because it had once belonged to an Eparch of Lower Nubia, a man called Isra'il. Deposits within the house yielded over 1,200 whole and fragmentary letters, of which about 600 are in the Old Nubian language, 400 are in Arabic, 150 are in both languages, and 140 are too fragmentary for positive identification. One letter is from the son of Isra'il, congratulating his father on his appointment as Eparch.

A second late medieval house was of interest because it had been destroyed by fire with much of its material content in situ. Over 60 pottery vessels and various other goods were found crushed on the floors where the burned roof timbers had fallen upon them.

The late medieval period was a prosperous one at Qasr Ibrim, and this is reflected in the wealth of material goods of both local and foreign origin. The most important local manufactures were fancy decorated pottery, colored woolen and cotton textiles, leather goods, and lathe-turned wooden furniture elements, while imports included Egyptian glazed pottery and glass, fine textiles, paper, and decorative objects of bronze and ivory. Because of the total preservation of organic deposits at Qasr Ibrim, material goods of all kinds were recovered in enormous quantities both from the late medieval and from the Islamic levels. Over 4,000 individual items were catalogued and entered on object record cards.

1982 saw the completion of all projected work in the house remains of the Islamic period. A few houses of the late medieval period remain to be excavated when work is resumed at Qasr Ibrim in 1984. The bulk of attention will, however, be given to townsite remains of the earlier medieval period, which at this point are still largely uninvestigated.

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LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN EGYPT: A CONCLUDING FIELD REPORT

INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

This report is submitted to confirm doctoral dissertation field work done under an American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) fellowship and assisted by a grant from the Institute for the Study of World Politics (New York). These grants supported the author during his twenty months of field work in Egypt, covering the period September 1978 to June 1980.

In recent years agricultural development has become a primary focus of attention for many developing countries, including Egypt. This concern is not only a reflection of the fact that a majority of the population in these countries is located in the rural sector; high rates of population growth, coupled with low rates of absorption of the labor force into industry, have made it essential to generate more employment and purchasing power in the rural economy.

Agricultural development has long been recognized as a difficult task. Since small-sized farm holdings predominate in many developing countries, the small farmer and his productivity lie at the very center of this problem. Scarce resources such as land, capital and technology must be mobilized and made available to small producers. Crop prices must be raised and marketing structures must be created to get them to produce more. Local-level institutions must be created at the village level to encourage small farmers to become actively involved in efforts to improve their own welfare and productivity.

Since the revolution of 1952 the Egyptian government has taken a number of steps designed to improve the status of small farmers (owning less than 3 feddans).¹ Through successive land reform measures the Egyptian government has redistributed about 13 percent of the cultivated land in Egypt to about 9 percent of the total rural population (Fadil, 1975: 10). The Egyptian government has also created a variety of local-level institutions--agricultural cooperatives, village councils and local political bodies--designed to increase the flow of goods and services to the small peasant cultivator. The agricultural cooperatives provide the small farmer with the basic factors of production (seeds, fertilizers and credit), the village councils supervise improvements in local infrastructure services

(roads, canals and schools); and local political bodies serve to integrate the small cultivator into the national development effort.

Precious little attention has been paid to date on the manner in which the Egyptian government has used these local-level institutions to improve the status of small farmers.² I thus went to Egypt in September 1978 determined to live in the Egyptian countryside in order to study this problem. By design and intent my study was consciously a village-level one, my primary concern being that of trying to understand the dynamics of rural change as Egyptian villagers themselves view it. Yet before I left for Egypt several academic and funding agencies tried to dissuade me from undertaking such a "grass-roots" study. They argued that a native American like myself would either (a) be unable to secure the necessary governmental permission to conduct such rural research,³ or (b) in the unlikely event that permission could be secured, I would be unable to communicate effectively with the native rural population.

Notwithstanding such doomsday predictions, I encountered relatively little difficulty in establishing myself and working in the Egyptian countryside. Undoubtedly, the aura of good feelings surrounding the Camp David experience greatly facilitated my speedy entree into the Egyptian countryside. Moreover, because of the continuing importance of agriculture in the Egyptian economy, my interest in agricultural development seemed quite legitimate to national security personnel. Thus, at every important juncture in my research effort I was able to find kind and sympathetic Egyptian officials who were quite willing to help. For example, it only took about two months of travelling around Upper Egypt before I found an influential professor in the College of Agriculture at Minya University who was willing to take the necessary steps to "establish" me in my first village. Later an Arabic letter of introduction from ARCE was sufficient to encourage leading government officials in the Ministry of Agrarian Reform to set me up in my second village.

METHODS OF FIELD WORK

I spent fifteen of my twenty months in Egypt living and working in two different village sites in the countryside. During these months my primary method of data-gathering was participant observation, combined with informal questioning and just plain "hanging out" at village coffee shops and peoples' homes. Although my years of classical and colloquial Arabic study at the University of California, Berkeley prepared me in some measure for these activities, it still took about four months of residence in my first village before I felt fully comfortable with the Egyptian Arabic linguistic reality of the countryside.

I would usually begin each day by visiting one of the agricultural cooperatives in my research area. These cooperatives, which represent the government's main instrument for directing the course of agricultural change, exist in virtually every village and are staffed by government bureaucrats who were usually born and raised in the area. My daily visits to the cooperatives thus brought me into contact with the two principal actors in the Egyptian countryside: muwazzafin (sing. muwazzaf), government bureaucrats who have earned a high school or, more rarely in the countryside, a college degree; and fellahin (sing. fellāh), uneducated and usually illiterate Egyptian farmers. As time progressed and I became wiser to the subtle nuances of the countryside, I found that my most reliable informants were the fellahin, more precisely, semi-literate fellahin. Because they were government officials, the muwazzafin who staffed the agricultural cooperatives would typically try to give me overly romantic or embellished accounts of village life. The fellahin, however, after recovering from their initial distrust of me as an outsider, would often "tell me like it is". For example, the fellahin would tell me tales of bureaucratic incompetence and malfeasance, tales which when checked out, usually proved to be accurate.

While I would devote my mornings to visiting the cooperatives, in the afternoons and evenings I would typically either call on one of my village informants or just go and listen to the idle banter at one of the local coffee shops. It took me some time to realize that I was not wasting time sipping tea or sitting in a field or even just waiting for something or someone to materialize because the whole reality of what I had come to study was passing before my very eyes and ears. I consciously tried to build working informant relationships with as broad a cross section of villagers as possible--rich peasants, landless agricultural laborers, Cumad (village headmen), merchants and family shuyūkh (leaders or elders). When calling upon my informants in their fields or homes I would usually have in mind a set of substantive questions that I would try to weave into the course of our casual and meandering conversations. If I had gained the trust of a particular informant, I would record his more crucial comments immediately in my pocket notebook. Yet so great was the suspicion of anything written in the Egyptian countryside that I could only do this with a limited number of informants. In most cases I would try to memorize more important informant responses for recording later in the day. Every night I would repair to my room and systematically record all the data I had collected that day in my field notebook. I went to great pains to check and recheck my field data by comparing the responses of different informants to the same question. Since I was able to develop informants from several villages, as well as informants from mutually estranged extended families and religious persuasions,⁴ comparing and contrasting informant responses proved to be surprisingly easy.

At no time during the course of research effort did I make use of either an interpreter or a formal questionnaire. I soon grew to enjoy and relish the give-and-take afforded by my direct relationship with informants and I feared that an interpreter or a research assistant would destroy the immediacy of such a relationship. The high degree of dissimilation, illiteracy and suspicion of the written word in the areas I worked similarly convinced me that formal questionnaires would never yield any useful information. (They also would probably have invited more attention from the ever-watchful Egyptian security apparatus.) Indeed, now I would have very serious reservations regarding any study of the Egyptian countryside that relied heavily on formal questionnaires (e.g., Harik, 1974).

Since cultivating and learning from village informants was a rewarding yet very time-consuming process, I spent very little time in Cairo doing library research or interviewing high-ranking government officials. After six months or so of living in the countryside I found that I usually knew more about the dynamics of rural development than high-ranking government officials would ever care to tell me. Consequently, during the course of my months in the countryside I only returned to Cairo intermittently, to collect my mail and to eat. (I was always hungry in the countryside.)

CONDITIONS OF FIELD WORK

I spent my first twelve months in the Egyptian countryside living in the village of "El-Diblah",⁵ located in Minya Governorate about 250 km. south of Cairo. El-Diblah was actually a sizable village-town (25,000 population), so I extended my study in this area to include three smaller surrounding villages. In El-Diblah the Egyptian government very graciously provided me with a single room in an '*istirāha* (government resthouse). Since I had no facilities or refrigerator here I ate my main daily meal in a neighboring town.

My other three months of residence in the Egyptian countryside were spent in the village of "Zeer", located in Kafr-es-Sheikh Governorate about 140 km. north of Cairo. Here I lived in a room in a once-sumptuous summer resort mansion built by King Fu'ad. Since Zeer was so far removed from major population centers the government provided me with a male cook here.

These two rural sites presented a number of instructive differences. El-Diblah, being in Upper Egypt, was the more traditional and poorer of the two sites. The village had not been the scene of large landownership prior to 1952. Thus, perhaps 40 percent of the fellahīn in El-Diblah were completely landless and another 40 percent farmed plots of land less than 3 feddans in size. These landless and near-landless peasants

survive by hiring themselves out as agricultural day-laborers to middle and rich peasants (owning over 10 feddans). The economic dependence of so many poor fellahīn on their wealthier counterparts means that rich peasants, through their clientele networks, still dominate village social and political life. Poor fellahīn are extremely reluctant to alienate the hand of the rich peasant that feeds them, by providing them with wage labor.

The "traditional" character of El-Diblah was indicated by the sharply circumscribed role of women as well as the general techniques of agricultural production. Women did not generally work in the fields here and typically avoided contact with all male strangers, Egyptian or foreign. Such practices made it virtually impossible for me to engage the women of El-Diblah in meaningful conversation.⁶ In the fields men planted, plowed and harvested their crops using the same labor-intensive techniques of the past century. Often when I would tell the fellahīn here that I had come to study "agricultural development", they would respond: "What development? Development means tractors and machines. Where are these in our village?"

In contrast to El-Diblah, the village of Zeer in Kafr-es-Sheikh Governorate had been the scene of considerable land reform. After the revolution of 1952 over 5,000 feddans of land in the village had been redistributed to landless peasants in the form of 2 to 5 feddan parcels. Since that time these land reform beneficiaries, acting in concert with government bureaucrats, have come to control their own local-level institutions. For example, the dominant socio-economic position enjoyed by rich peasants in El-Diblah meant that cooperative-owned tractors there only served the rural elite. However, the comprehensiveness of the land reform program in Zeer ensured that there was no rich kulak class capable of monopolizing government supplied mechanized inputs.

Land reform in Zeer decisively changed the social and political character of the village. When land reform occurred, fellahīn from near and far moved into the relatively underpopulated village of Zeer trying to claim their share of the redistributed land. Thus, while most of the people in El-Diblah could trace their lineages back in that village for five or six generations, most of the people in Zeer were "new arrivals", arrivals since 1952. This meant that Zeer lacked the traditional, well-entrenched pattern of large, extended families that characterized El-Diblah. In El-Diblah the shuyūkh (heads or elders) of two extended families wielded considerable social and political power in the community.

SOME RESEARCH FINDINGS

Despite obvious limitations of space, it seems useful to outline my more salient research findings.

1. In a most paradoxical fashion, the longer I studied the process of "agricultural development" in the Egyptian countryside, the more elusive and problematic the whole concept became to me. In a land-poor, labor-rich country like Egypt agricultural development seems to be closely related to per unit land productivity. Between 1947 and 1977 the total cropped area⁷ in Egypt increased less than 20 percent, while the total population dependent on that land increased by over 200 percent (World Bank, 1978: 22). Coaxing higher yields out of a limited land base is thus the basic conundrum that Egyptian agriculture faces.

My village informants were well aware of this problem and would often argue that agricultural development had not occurred in their area because per feddan crop yields had not increased significantly since 1952. For example, per feddan yields of the most important cash crop in El-Diblah, cotton, have stagnated since 1952 because of government pricing policies and the loss of Nile *tami* (silt) as a result of the construction of the High Dam. Similarly, in the low-lying northern village of Zeer, increased waterlogging and soil salinity have had a deleterious impact on most crop yields.

Unfortunately, problems of crop productivity are by no means confined to the villages of El-Diblah and Zeer. Since the early 1960s production gains for most major crops in Egypt as a whole have been uneven and per feddan yields for certain crops have actually declined (World Bank, 1978).

2. On the whole the government-run agricultural cooperatives have performed well as a means of channeling the necessary inputs of agricultural production (seeds, fertilizers and credit) to Egyptian small farmers. Before 1952 these same small farmers often had to mortgage off their future crops at usurious rates of interest to village merchants in order to obtain such productive inputs. Now, however, the cooperative supplies them with these inputs at government-subsidized prices. Such subsidies encourage the existence of a flourishing black market in agricultural commodities at the village level, but have a salutary impact on the welfare of the small peasant cultivator.

Yet the agricultural cooperatives have failed to perform as expected in a number of areas, including that of facilitating the mechanization of Egyptian agriculture. Because of their limited capital base, most agricultural cooperatives have only one operating tractor. For example, two of the five cooperatives studied in El-Diblah and three of the six studied in Zeer had no operating tractor. Since cooperative tractors, when they work, are often monopolized by large farmers, small farmers have no choice but to continue to rely upon their animal-drawn *balidi* plows. At first glance this may not appear to be a pressing problem in a labor-rich country like Egypt. But the continued use of animals for heavy-duty agricultural tasks not only drastically reduces their usefulness as potential sources of milk and meat, but also ensures that productivity per unit human labor in Egyptian agriculture has remained virtually unchanged since 1952.

3. The village councils, which were reorganized in 1975, are a relatively new local-level institution in the Egyptian countryside. These councils are responsible for appropriating nationally-provided funds for the upgrading of local infrastructure capabilities--roads, canals, schools and health clinics. The institutional structure of these councils is two-tiered in the sense of consisting of an executive committee (EC) of appointed bureaucratic officials and a representative body (RC) of elected villagers. In the villages I studied the locus of power in these councils lies in the hands of the EC or, more specifically, in the hands of the head executive officer (HEO) who directs the EC. The HEO, who is usually a government-appointed outsider to the village, makes most of the decisions of the council with the RC itself nowhere in evidence.

The activities of the average village council are quite far removed from the purview of the small farmer. Not only does the typical *fellāh* have no input into the council decision-making process, but he frequently does not even know that such a council even exists. The apathy and indifference of the small farmer means that certain council projects, which require partnership with private citizens, tend to benefit some villagers more than others. For example, the village council in Zeer has undertaken a number of partnership schemes with private citizens in the areas of bee raising, animal husbandry and furniture making. Since the small farmer lacks the interest and economic resources to participate in such partnership schemes, these schemes inevitably work to the benefit of middle and rich

peasants (owning over 10 feddans). The small farmer, however, does enjoy the benefits of council efforts to build and improve roads, canals and educational facilities.

4. It is impossible for me to end any description of my research sojourn in the Egyptian countryside without paying tribute to the karam (generosity or hospitality) that I enjoyed from the villagers. In the ever-questioning eyes of my village informants my "real" intentions for living amongst them probably always remained somewhat problematic. "Who", they would ask me, "would want to come all the way from America to study the way we fellahīn live?" While my questions thus sometimes drew the blankest of stares, never did I enter a house or a government office in the Egyptian countryside without being offered a glass of tea and, if it was available, food to eat. Oftentimes, just walking down a well-travelled village byway was sufficient to elicit an itfaddal (lit. come, help yourself) invitation to drink tea. We khawagāt (lit. foreigners), who live in circumstances exceeding the fondest imagination of most Egyptian small farmers, can we say that we would be as open and hospitable to a visiting researcher?

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NOTES

1. A feddan equals 1.038 acres. According to 1975 statistics released by the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture, 79 percent of all Egyptian farmers own or rent less than 3 feddans.
2. Certain illuminating earlier studies of Egyptian rural life (Ammar, 1966 and Ayrout, 1963) generally overlook the problem of small farm development. Other more recent works (Harik, 1974 and Mayfield, 1971), while equally suggestive, fail to adequately discuss the economic and social impact of such development on the small peasant cultivator.
3. As a result of wartime security considerations, the Egyptian countryside was officially closed to all foreign researchers from 1968 to 1976.

4. In my Upper Egyptian village of El-Diblah roughly 25 percent of the population was Christian. While on the surface Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt may seem to be exemplary, a fundamental type of underlying tension exists between members of the two religions. In the countryside religious affiliation probably serves as the single most important factor influencing the formation of social friendships and relations.
5. El-Diblah is a pseudonym, as are the names of all villages in this paper.
6. Native-born Egyptian male researchers experience similar difficulties in interviewing women fellahīn in Upper Egypt. According to an Egyptian male rural sociologist affiliated with a joint American-Egyptian water development project, "the only way (our project) can reach the female fellāha in Upper Egypt is by using a female researcher".
7. The cropped area measures that surface of cultivated land that is sown more than once a year.

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THE INTERACTION OF CLASS AND NATION

IN THE EMERGENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The original focus of my research project, made possible by an ARCE fellowship, was the organization and transformation of the labor process among transport workers in Egypt up to the Second World War--in effect, a social history of tramway and railway workers. Similar studies have been done for specific groups of workers in Europe and elsewhere, and I hoped that this project would shed some light on the ways in which a modern Egyptian working class emerged, the characteristics of that new class and the forms in which it expressed itself in word and deed.

As is so often the case when one actually gets to Egypt, I found it impossible to carry out the plan of research as originally conceived. I worked in Egypt from September 1979 to July 1980 and again from January 1981 to March 1981; but it became apparent to me soon after my arrival that at least some of the historical source materials I required were either inaccessible or nonexistent. This sad but inescapable fact led me to shift the focus and broaden the scope of my research. The dissertation I am now writing based on the research I did in Egypt (as well as in several European countries) deals with the interaction of class and nation in the emergence of the Egyptian workers' movement. I discuss the origins of the Egyptian working class, and then try to explain the organizational and ideological effects that the centrality of the national question had on the young labor movement and on its struggles to achieve autonomy. I still, however, focus on the tramwaymen of Cairo and on the railway workers (especially those employed at the central repair and maintenance workshops formerly located behind the main Cairo station in Bulaq) as case studies. While I did not find the exact kinds of data on these groups that I had originally hoped for, I did manage to gather a great deal of information which has proven very useful in understanding the internal dynamics of Egyptian trade unionism.

I began work in Egypt at the National Library (*Dār al-Kutub*), which had just been moved to its new building in Bulaq. Progress was lamentably slow due to the rather chaotic state of the premises, and it was only when I returned some months later that my work proceeded at a more or less reasonable pace. In the interim I worked at the National Archives (*Dār al-Wathā'iq*)

which contained some interesting material, in particular reports by agents of the secret police on labor activities in the 1920s and early 1940s. Just after I finished there all material less than 50 years old was closed, a policy which may or may not still be in effect.

My research also took me to the offices of various unions and of the trade union federation, to government ministries and agencies, to embassy archives, and to the homes of private individuals for interviews. Scholars (or anyone else for that matter) interested in modern Egypt might also look at the libraries of the Geographical Society (across from AUC on Sharī'a Qasr al-Ayni) and of the Egyptian Society for Political Economy, Statistics and Legislation (at the corner of 26th July and Ramses).

While it did not always seem like it at the time, in retrospect I can say that I accomplished a great deal in Egypt. The process was not always without its moments of despair and anguish, but I came away with the feeling that there is still much research that can be done--and that desperately needs to be done--in the field of modern Egyptian social history. Whether my own work can be considered a contribution to this field will be for others to judge.

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THE CULTURE OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN EGYPT BETWEEN 1936 AND 1954

My dissertation research, carried out in Cairo from October 1979 through May 1980, focuses on the social, political and ideological foundations of the opposition movement and the period in which it was active. This is an era rich in cultural and political ferment and is characterized by a dynamic nationalistic spirit, the emergence and crystallization of new political organizations and the rise of new ideas publicized through the medium of a vibrant oppositional press.

Because my research is in its embryonic stages, a full account of my work at this time would be premature. For this reason, I would like to concentrate here on the source materials which were available to me in Cairo.

Entry into Dār al-Wathā'iq (The National Archive) generally follows a routine pattern: direct application for permission to read documents followed by a six or eight-week waiting period for security clearance. In the archive I located only a small number of political reports and security papers because most of the material I saw dealt with periods of Egyptian history earlier than mine. Access to material housed in Dār al-Kutub (The National Library) is immediate upon application. There I concentrated on the newspaper collection and the period studies published during the 1940s and 1950s. I read the newspapers of the time and especially focused on those periodicals and magazines which were implicitly or explicitly the organs of different political groups. Using the "lesser" press provided important insights into the political organizations' analyses of Egyptian society, their ideas about the international situation and their modes of intellectual and popular activity. The French Embassy in Cairo maintained an archive which included correspondence between the French representatives in Cairo and the home government in Paris and analyses of political and economic trends in Egypt. The French, being keen social observers, provided me an evaluation of events sometimes unavailable elsewhere. Admission into the archive was granted after about six weeks from the date of application. A large repository of material on the Egyptian opposition movement is still in private hands in Egypt. Over the years people have retained pamphlets, tracts, programs, statements, court cases and the like. Through the generosity of Egyptian friends, I was given access to some of these documents. This represents a rich source of material and is

proving to be indispensable to my research. Also, in order to situate the documents I had found, put the newspapers and period writings into context, and fill some of the gaps in the research, I conducted a number of interviews with people who were politically or intellectually active during the 1940s and the early 1950s. While recognizing the difficulties involved in oral history, my research experience convinced me that the memories and evaluations of historical actors can add a rich dimension to academic research.

There are, of course, problems one confronts when doing research in Egypt. For a variety of reasons, not all repositories are open to students of Egyptian history and society. The archive located at Abdin Palace, which I understand houses all the papers of the monarchy, was closed to me. Even the considerable efforts made by the directors of the American Research Center on my behalf produced no results. Similarly at Dār al-Qadā'ī al-`Alīy (The High Court), I found that there were significant restrictions placed on the material in the collection.

Although I encountered some resistance in my work, on measure, I was able to accomplish the goals I set myself. This I attribute to the services that the American Research Center provided and to the guidance I received from Egyptians who were interested in my project and willing to offer suggestions and assistance.

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ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BIOGRAPHIES OF THE LATE PERIOD (380 BCE THROUGH 246 BCE)

THE SUBJECT: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the fourth century B.C.E., Egypt suffered repeated invasions by superior foreign military powers. Her last native rulers fell to the Persians, who, in their turn, succumbed to Alexander's war machine ten years later.

For historians interested in this era of internationalism and upheaval, contemporary Egyptian sources offer irritatingly little information. Yet documents from this era are, by Egyptological standards, numerous. It was the fashion in this late age for wealthier Egyptians to dedicate statues of themselves in the temples, inscribing them with personal information which we can loosely term "biographies". Although most of these inscriptions employ the first person, it is unclear whether they were authored by the subjects themselves or by pious family members who lived after them, and it is safer to consider them biographies rather than autobiographies.

For all their great numbers and sometimes substantial length, Egyptian biographical texts of the Late Period tend to ignore political events of the day in favor of tallies of the subjects' pious works. The historian can glean little from the titles and traditional epithets which make up the better part of most inscriptions.

Late texts have the added difficulty of being written in Middle Egyptian, which was by then a dead language, and of toying with a particularly obscure and maddening writing system which later reached its apogee (or nadir) under the Ptolemies. Texts in this script employ the hieroglyphic writing system, but their clever authors decided to change sign values which had stood firm for a good 2,700 years. Authors also experimented with alphabetic writings, and the result is what the Egyptologist dolefully calls "playful" or "enigmatic" writings.

Perhaps for this reason, texts of the late Dynastic and early Ptolemaic period are by and large not published, or are published in out-dated, clearly deficient editions.

The historian faces one final problem in dealing with Egyptian sources of this era. Rich Egyptians had been dedicating personal monuments in large numbers since the 22nd Dynasty

at least, and the tradition lasted into the Roman period. They modeled their works after objects which dated from Egypt's palmier days, and many of their archaized statues look alike. For this reason, it is difficult to date Late Period works by style.

As an ARCE Research Fellow in 1979-1980, it was my task to sift through the mass of unpublished material in the Cairo Museum's collection, to separate out those items which date to my period of interest, to record and to photograph biographical inscriptions found on these statues for later translation and analysis.

WORK IN MUSEUMS

In September of 1979 I started east from Chicago on a tour of American, European and Egyptian collections. I had written to museum curators well in advance, informing them of my intended visit. Everywhere I went I was received kindly and given every aid. I would like to express my appreciation to museum staff in Baltimore, New York, London, West Berlin, East Berlin, Paris and Rome.

In mid-November I arrived in Cairo. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo houses the largest collection of Late Period statues in the world.

My first task was to determine which statues I wanted to see. I had gone through the secondary literature on the subject and had gathered a list of items, apparently of the right date, which might bear biographical inscriptions. Since many texts were mentioned only in passing in the publications, it was impossible to determine beforehand the length or nature of the inscriptions.

For the greater part of the statues I saw in the Egyptian Museum, I did not have reliable information. Earlier scholars, faced with the confusing similarity of hosts of archaized statues, had often sought refuge in the uninformative label, "Late Period", i.e., any time between 1070 B.C.E. and A.D. 452.

B. V. Bothmer, in his Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, has gone far to correct many misapprehensions about the dating of late statuary, and to lay the groundwork for distinguishing major Late Period styles. H. de Meulenaere's many articles attack the problem brilliantly from the point of view of the textual evidence. In preparation for my work in Egypt, I had studied their works with care, as well as those of other scholars of the late Period such as van de Walle, Otto, Quaegebeur, Vercoutter, Kees, Yoyotte, Ray and Parker.

Once in Cairo I found that most of the statues which interested me are located in rooms G24, G25 and G26. They range

in size from the colossal (two meters and over) to tiny objects which can be held on one hand. The majority, however, are about 60 cm. tall and are displayed in glass cases along the walls of the rooms, seventy to a case. Since the ancient Egyptians generally inscribed their statues on the backpillar, it was necessary for me to open the museum cases and remove the statues to study them.

I encountered a major problem in trying to determine which museum number corresponded with which statue. The Temporary Register, Cairo Catalogue, Journal d'Entree and Special Register all provided identifying numbers, but, with seventy statues per case to choose from, it was often difficult to determine which statue was intended. To solve this problem I "mapped" the cases, drawing pictures of them and marking those pieces whose numbers were visible through the glass. I then compared my results with the information and small photos on the Special Register cards. This method seemed needlessly time consuming, but, since photography inside the Museum was prohibited, I could devise no better one for locating the statues I wanted to see.

I was disappointed to learn, at the outset of my investigation, that several of the larger statues are nailed to the wall and cannot be moved. Since the majority of the inscriptions are located on the backs of statues, I could not verify readings for this group of important texts.

Dr. Mohamed Mohsen, Director of the Egyptian Museum, expressed a distinct preference for having the Museum photographer, Mr. Mustafa, take any photographs I might need. This accords with the present policy of the Antiquities Department which allows a scholar to photograph 12 objects without charge, but charges ten pounds for each additional object. Prints from the Museum archives are only 25 PT apiece, and new photographs taken by the official Museum photographer are 55 PT. These prices are extremely reasonable, and I was able to obtain photographs of good quality from Mr. Mustafa, who proved to be most helpful, a better photographer and better equipped than I.

When a researcher requests that the Egyptian Museum open a case inside the Museum, regulations require that he be accompanied by two or more curators. Several carpenters are needed to open the case and to seal it after the work is completed. Museum staff will open cases for Egyptological colleagues on any day except Friday, and except for those days when the curator of that particular gallery is not present. Cases can be opened only between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m., when the staff go home for the day.

Light is always a problem in the Museum, and no combination of flashlights which I was able to devise was sufficient to illuminate well the vague traces of poorly cut inscriptions.

The numerous Egyptian holidays inevitably cause delays. It is inadvisable to try to work during Ramadan. I, for instance, ran into the problem of the Director's vacation, for while he was away, cases could not be opened in the Late Period galleries. In all, I managed to open a large number of cases, photograph and copy some 35 inscriptions and the statues on which they were carved. I also studied the corpus of sculpture enough to obtain an idea of what characterizes works dating to my period of interest. Since my doctoral dissertation is a discussion of the development of the late writing system, accurate photographs and copies of a large number of texts are essential to its successful completion.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the staff of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo for their patience, and the American Research Center in Egypt for giving me the chance to conduct this research. I would like to thank Dr. James Allen, especially, for his generous donation of time in helping with the difficult translations. I am also grateful to the other ARCE Fellows of 1979-1981, whose Wednesday evening seminars broadened my acquaintance with Egypt on so many levels.

1979-80 ARCE Fellow
Funded by the Smithsonian
Institution

Elizabeth J. Sherman
The University of Chicago

SOCIALIZATION OF EGYPTIAN WORKERS

TIME PERIOD

September 11, 1980 to June 12, 1981

OBJECTIVES

The chief objective of this research project is the study of the political culture of Egyptian industrial workers. It has sought to present a comparative analysis of public sector and private sector laborers' attitudes and beliefs. The rationale for such a project is that the social changes of modernizing societies occur at varying rhythms and patterns according to the existence or absence of direct state involvement in the processes that shape people's ideas. Industrial workers seemed an appropriate focus because: (1) they are strategically located between "traditional" and "modern" sectors of society and are thereby influenced by, as well as themselves influence, these two sectors; (2) not enough is known about the responses and/or initiatives of laborers in the process of social change in Egypt.

LOCATION OF RESEARCH SITES

As a result of contacts made through the Institute of Social and Criminological Research in Imbaba and the Center for Engineering and Industrial Development Design in Giza, a private sector factory that manufactures sweets and candy in the district of Cairo known as Sayyidah Zaynab was found. The factory employs about 200 people, about 55%-60% of whom are women and 40%-45% men. Its products include halawah, toffee, bonbons, halawah baladi, sesame, tahina, Turkish Delights, chocolate and vanilla wafers, etc. I have been visiting this factory since early November 1980 and have made an intensive microanalysis of its historical evolution and organizational structure, as well as interviewed male employees. The interviews will continue in a follow-up visit in the summer of 1982. I have gathered the bulk of the data I had originally intended to generate on the private sector factory during the current research period, however.

After a number of false starts, I finally succeeded in March 1981 in locating a public sector factory of somewhat comparable nature in the Qal'ah district of Cairo through the intervention on my behalf of a colleague who teaches in the university system in Egypt. Unfortunately, I only learned in

mid-May 1981, that the administration of this factory was renegeing on its earlier agreement to permit me to conduct my research there, after all. By then, it was too late to make alternative plans. Because public sector factories are organizationally subsumed under the relevant ministries of the government, the policy seems currently to restrict survey research to projects under the official auspices of the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics. It may be possible to secure such approval without surrendering independence to CAPMAS, but at this time such an eventuality will depend on the willingness of the people at the Cairo University-MIT project team to take me under their wing. Nevertheless, I am reasonably optimistic that I can eventually coordinate things with Cairo-MIT as a result of contacts both in Egypt and in the United States.

In any case, given that I will be returning to Egypt for the summer of 1982, I will be in a position to do either one of three things: (1) expand and intensify my microanalysis of the candy factory in Sayyidah Zaynab; (2) successfully negotiate approval for research in the public sector factor; (3) locate another private sector factory and shift the focus of the study to workers' beliefs and attitudes in the private sector. Of these alternatives, a combination of numbers (1) and (2) seems most desirable and rewarding. I am somewhat optimistic that I will be able to secure the intermediation of individuals who will be able to open the right doors.

METHODOLOGY

The most suitable methods for obtaining information have been observation, informal discussion and interviews. Observation has permitted the study of non-verbal communications, influence networks and work routines within the factory. Informal discussion has facilitated an understanding of nuances of behavior and ideas and provided anecdotal evidence of management-employee relations and given me ideas of the workers' idiom and style. The interviews have, of course, supplied the most systematic evidence of workers' attitudes, beliefs, background characteristics and a variety of socio-economic correlates of social change. Specifically, I incorporated the OM-12 "short form" questions used by Alex Inkeles and David Smith in their book, Becoming Modern (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).

The short form contains 14 questions, of which I utilized the first 12 (discarding the information questions). I also utilized 20 amthal 'ammiyah (popular proverbs), to which employees were asked to respond in terms of their agreement or disagreement. These proverbs were selected on the basis of themes relevant to factory work--such as accountability, responsibility, trust, cooperation, stratification, discipline, etc. It was considered that Egyptian workers would recognize

these proverbs, many of which form an important part of their own private and social discourse. Therefore, it seemed reasonable that their responses to them would furnish valuable clues as to their attitudes--clues that would not necessarily be provided by responses to questions in a questionnaire theoretically grounded in non-Egyptian experience. The balance of the questions on my questionnaire had to do with variables such as father's occupation, tenure in factory work, regional origin, job preference, occupation of brothers and sons, and so on.

EVIDENCE

On the whole generating the data on the basis of observation, informal discussion and formal interview was relatively straightforward. As would be expected, evasive replies from interviewees constituted a source of evidence contamination. Since I was present personally to conduct the interviews, I was able to detect cases of either evasive answers or even prevarication without difficulty. My practice has been to note the fact in the sheet upon which I was registering interviewee replies. But alertness to evasive answers is no guarantee of eliminating their occurrence. On the whole, the more the workers became used to seeing me in the factory, the more nonchalant they became. The measures I adopted to induce cooperation included conducting interviews individually with each worker, not using an informant, holding the interview as far away from the "front office" as possible, excluding other employees from the room in which interviews took place, etc. On balance, I am happy with the relationship I have developed with the workers and feel that it has worked to the advantage of the project. Yet, there is one area that puzzles me with respect to validity of the evidence. I intend to pursue this matter upon my return to Egypt in summer 1982. For now, I can only express my suspicions. All of the employees I have talked with so far claim lack of membership in a social organization. I have been careful, in probing this, not to use such words as party, political activity, strikes, etc. The more neutral--or so I have imagined--words I have employed are tajammu' ijtima'i (social grouping or organization), and the examples I have cited are tariqah, hay'ah diniyah, rabitah (respectively, guild, religious group, league). Still, it is possible that the expression, social organization, is a "red flag" word for the workers.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Among the notable findings so far, one of the most striking is the evident cognitive dissonance in workers' responses to two questions probing for the same idea. The questions deal with self-image and job satisfaction. In answer to the open-ended question: imagine you could have any job anywhere in the world; what would it be and where would you want to

have it?, my respondents were virtually unanimous in saying their present jobs and in Egypt. However, when asked to respond to the proverb: bi' wishtari wila tinkiri (by and sell, but do not hire yourself out as a wage-laborer), I registered a nearly unanimous approval among the workers.

Other findings include the insignificance of organization as an instrument of worker mobility and power; mild disagreement with prevailing stratification systems; a surprising acceptance of birth control (whether formulated as tahdid al-nasl or tanzim al-usrah--i.e., prevention of birth or family planning); a great disparity between younger and older workers in terms of job alienation; a significant degree of worker interest in current world affairs (although they may have responded in this way to impress me), fragmentation of workers solidarity in the factory organizational structure; acceptance of paternalism in terms of factory and state administration. I have not had the chance to disaggregate worker response in order to make correlations between, on the one hand, such factors as age, education, social background, class attributes, etc.; and, on the other hand, culture and attitude variables. However, a computer run will permit me, upon my return to the United States, to file a fuller report to ARCE and NEH at the time when such a report will be due.

PROGNOSIS AND SELF-EVALUATION

I came to Egypt expecting that my flexibility in undertaking research would be contingent upon finding a suitable arrangement to take care of my son (I am an only parent). In fact, his needs and schedule impinged on mine only in the first three and a half months, and that was as a result of not being able to place him in a school until January 1981, contrary to plans made in summer 1980. All things considered, I have been able to make good progress in my research. Major disappointments have included: (1) the inability to find a public sector factory site; (2) the relatively slow pace of the research (especially the interviews). If sheer volume of information counts for anything, the recently concluded research year has been a major success. An additional point is that the factory in Sayyidah Zaynab is a family enterprise that is now in the transition phase from third to fourth generation administration. I believe--and I may be wrong, here--that a study of an Egyptian family-run enterprise has not yet been undertaken. I am fortunate to enter the scene precisely when the current chairman of the board is deliberately bringing in outsiders to serve in the administration of the factory. This will have the long-run effect of changing the complexion of the enterprise from a family business to a corporate business. I will be able to record some of the changes, the problems raised by such changes, and attempts at their solution.

Moreover, this factory has received assistance from the International Labor Organization in matters of organizational structure, machine design, plant space use, and the like. It is a factory that is in the process of movement from small-scale to large-scale production. One assumes that such a fact magnifies the strategic location of the workers to which allusion has been made (*supra*, p.1). This is not to say, of course, that the workers suddenly become "modern". But the issues which affect their lives (alienation, working conditions, impersonalism, hierarchy, time constraints, work schedules) will become more intensely felt. Their reactions to these will be all the more interesting, therefore. Consequently, without minimizing the problems encountered thus far, even if the present research were suddenly terminated by some unforeseen externality, a great deal has been gained up to now.

1980-81 ARCE Fellow
Funded by the National
Endowment for the Humanities

Shahrough Akhavi
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THE POLITICS OF HEALTH CARE IN MODERN EGYPT

In sorting through the materials I collected, it is clear that I have enough sources to begin writing an article on the social and political consequences of the 1947 cholera epidemic that struck Egypt. It came at a critical time in Egyptian history and the newspaper accounts I collected turned out to be more interesting than I first expected.

Locating the sources for this topic was a surprising pleasure. I had been working at the United States Naval Medical Research Unit (NAMRU 3) during the months of June, July, and August 1981. Dossiers of historical materials collected by the unit had been made available to me, and I was reading through accounts of research projects undertaken in the 1940s and 1950s. One day, a staff member of NAMRU dropped by carrying a large scrapbook. He had heard I was interested in history and correctly thought the book might be of interest. It turned out to be newspaper accounts of a cholera epidemic that struck Egypt in 1947. NAMRU had facilitated airlift of huge quantities of vaccine to Egypt and so had collected all accounts of the epidemic they could find. The photography department at NAMRU kindly agreed to microfilm the book for me.

Then, Mr. Abdel Aziz Saleh, former public relations officer at NAMRU and now part-time consultant, suggested that I read through the parliamentary records at the majlis al-shaab library. Mr. Saleh had played an active role in the cholera epidemic and remembered there had been debates over how the disease first entered Egypt and whether or not the government had been negligent in its preventive efforts.

The next day I went to the majlis and explained my purpose to the guard. He took me to his supervisor who telephoned the director of the library. The director of the library asked if I could bring my ARCE letter of introduction to him which I did. I explained the nature of the topic to him and he wrote a permission on the letter. He said to show the letter at the door whenever I wanted to use the library.

With the aid of the library staff, I found the 1947 debates in a few minutes. I had gone there at 10:00 a.m. since it was Ramadan. By 12:00 noon, when the library closed, I had found more pages. The next day, the staff said they would xerox the pages I needed. I am now using them here in Santa Barbara.

I have since learned of a few persons active in the preventive efforts who would like to relate their stories. I hope to contact them upon my return.

The general topic I had begun with, however, was entitled "The Politics of Health Care in Modern Egypt". I figured feasible topics would emerge in the course of my work. Eventually, I got interested in early American medical projects in Egypt such as the missionary hospitals which began in the 1890s and the Rockefeller projects which began in the 1910s. NAMRU 3, established in 1945, might also fit into this topic. The Public Record Office in London had a few items of use. I have located a four-volume compendium of records from the American hospital in Tanta and the Rockefeller Foundation archives are in New York.

The libraries I found most useful were the World Health Organization library in Alexandria and the NAMRU 3 library in Abbassia. Both are well organized, contain many useful project reports, and are warm in winter and cool in summer. The majlis al-shaab library is excellent for specialized research into questions or issues that received governmental attention. The Institute of National Planning library has numerous holdings relating to economic, social, medical, and public health policies.

The Ministry of Health has received a grant from the World Health Organization to organize a library of theses and other studies done on Egyptian public health problems and policies. The ministry intends to organize its archives as well. The library is located on Rhode Island.

I found the ARCE staff very helpful at all times. The renovated library is a great improvement.

1980-81 ARCE Fellow
Funded by the National Endowment
for the Humanities and the
International Communication
Agency

Nancy E. Gallagher
University of California,
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Funded by the National Endowment
for the Humanities and the
International Communication
Agency

BOOKS AVAILABLE FOR REVIEW IN JARCE

Traunecker and others, *La Chapelle D'Achoris A Karnak*, Synthèse No. 5, Texts and Documents.

Vera von Droste zu Hülshoff, *Der Igel im alten Agypten*.

Miguel Asín Palacios, *Saint John of the Cross and Islam*.

Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. III² Memphis, Part 2, Saqqara to Dahshur, Fascicle 3*.

Carola Reinsberg, *Studien zur hellenistischen Toreutik, Hildesheimer Agyptologische Beiträge 9*.

Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, Lieferung 5.

Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Agypten, Müncher Agyptologische Studien Heft 35*.

Winifried Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbenen König, Müncher Agyptologische Studien Heft 39*.

Friedrich Abitz, *Statuetten in Schreinen als Grabbeigaben in den Agyptischen Königsgräbern der 18 und 19 Dynastie, Band 35, Agyptologische Abhandlungen*.

Elmar Edel, *Die Felsgräberakropole der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, II Abteilung: Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften, Paläographie der althieratischen Gefäßaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1960 bis 1973*.

Katalog, *Das Museum für Altägyptische Kunst in Luxor*.

Karl-Joachim Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-Wüste, Hildesheimer Agyptologische Beiträge 15*.

Michael Atzler, *Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung von Herrschaftsformen in Agypten, Hildesheimer Agyptologische Beiträge 16*.

Jürgen Brinks, *Die Entwicklung der königlichen Grabanlagen des Alten Reiches, Hildesheimer Agyptologische Beiträge 10*.

Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, *Hildesheimer Agyptologische Beiträge 12*.

Maureen Joan Alden, Bronze Age Population Fluctuations in the Argolid from the Evidence of Mycenaean Tombs.

Rivista Degli Studi Orientali Volume LIV Fas. I-II.

Charles E. Butterworth, Averroës' Three Short Commentaries on Aristotle's "Topics", "Rhetoric", and "Poetics".

Karl K. Barbir, Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708-1758.

[The above list was submitted by Professor Hans Goedicke, Book Review Editor, JARCE, Department of Near Eastern Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.]

NOTES FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

DR. JAMES P. ALLEN

As you receive this issue of the Newsletter, Jim and Susan Allen will be making final preparations to leave Cairo. Jim Allen has served all of us as part of the Cairo Center administration now for over four years. He came first as assistant director (1978-1980) and became director (1980-1982). We owe him a great debt of thanks for his able and conscientious dedication to the welfare of the Cairo Center, and particularly for sustaining the high reputation of the ARCE in Egypt.

These have been unpredictable years when PL 480 funding seemed at one point about to disappear quickly and at the next moment looked like it might last several years. Jim Allen arrived in Cairo when the ARCE had hopes of expanding. He was immediately given charge of liaison with all areas of the Antiquities Organization. In addition, we expected him to actively pursue his own studies in Egyptian philology. Since then as ARCE's financial resources contracted and the staff shrank, more and more administrative chores were added to his responsibilities until, as Cairo director, he assumed nearly the full load of what were two positions when he first started.

Jim Allen's accomplishments both on behalf of Egyptology and of ARCE are numerous. As a scholar he continued to produce in spite of the increasing burden of running the Cairo Center. His major work on The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts is eagerly awaited from Undena Press. For the ARCE we were lucky above all to have his consistent and reliable intercession with the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. No other American scholar has worked as faithfully to improve our dealings with this Organization, which is in turn responsible for the success of so many of our projects. Over the years his care and attention to details and nuances of correct procedure and his clear sensitivity to the requirements of the Egyptian authorities earned him the special regard of the current chairman, Dr. Ahmad Kadry, and former chairman, Dr. Gamal Mukhtar. When they first learned that Jim Allen would leave the Cairo directorship, they wrote to President Klaus Baer. Their letter states in part:

We have been greatly distressed to learn that... [Dr. Allen will leave]. We wish to express to you our appreciation for the efforts of Dr. Allen in promoting cooperation between Egyptian and

American colleagues.... It is our earnest hope that the new director...shall continue this important cooperation and especially also the warm personal relations which Dr. Allen has established with all of us.

It is obvious that both Jim and Susan, who is now a recognized authority on ancient Egyptian pottery, will be missed in Cairo. Luckily, on the other hand, since their personal and scholarly commitments to Egypt run so deeply, it is equally likely that they will return. At its March meeting the Board of Governors noted its special appreciation and thanked Jim Allen for his contribution to the ARCE. As he leaves the Center in Cairo, we all hope it is only the beginning of his association with those who worked with him and appreciate all that he did on our behalf.



Jim Allen at a more leisurely pastime.

MADAME ATTEYA AYAD HABACHI

Those of you who remember Madame Habachi will visit the Cairo Center now and miss her all-encompassing presence. After one year as a post-retirement consultant to the ARCE, she has left our service. For over twenty years it has often seemed that the ARCE in Cairo was in fact Atteya Habachi. The annual flood of fellows became like children to her devotion and concern as she fretted constantly over their every act like a worried mother. The archaeological expeditions, and for that matter, every North American Egyptologist who ever traveled through Cairo, spent hours paying court in front of her special desk in the reception room at Qasr el-Doubara. It is a vast array of privileged people who have been there and all of us will remember forever those hours and occasions with Atteya.

It needs to be said, of course, that what we learned from her was not all of stately, academic propriety. One discerning observer said that Atteya should have been on the stage. In the proper time sitting regally under her beloved "Gebel Ada", she would indulge in an endless series of stories and anecdotes. For sheer entertainment nothing will ever match the best of these performances. Unfortunately (or rather fortunately), the subject of Atteya's interests was primarily "those crazy Egyptologists" first and foremost and the rest of the ARCE possibly second. Those of us who can honestly confess that we were both shocked and delighted have urged her to write her secret history of Egyptology and the Center. It is a task we still hope that she will undertake, although we cannot promise to publish it in the lifetime of anyone now living.

Today, in the place of Atteya you will find a library. The walls are covered with books and there is a degree of quiet. The rooms have a dusty, scholarly air now, which is maybe how they should be, but many of us will pause once in a while and think of a noisier, more chaotic and vibrant room in which Madame Habachi held forth keeping the ARCE alive (and kicking) with often irrepressible and certainly uncontrollable expressions of her interest and devotion. She embraced the ARCE family all those years with her full energies and passion. For that and for the chance to know her we are indeed grateful. It is certainly an embrace one never forgets.

ARCE HOUSEBOAT "FOSTAT"

In spite of substantial ongoing costs for maintenance and repair, the ARCE has decided to continue to support our houseboat in Cairo. It is useful in part as a "second" center away from the offices at Midan Qasr el-Doubara. It also serves as a focus of entertaining and receiving, and in emergency it is a 24-hour, seven-day-a-week headquarters.

Partly because we have no other suitable space, the "Fostat" will continue to house the director in the coming term of Robert Wenke and Nanette Pyne. In addition to the upper deck which they will occupy, three to four small rooms are available on the lower deck for the temporary accommodation of ARCE members. This area is limited, however, and must be controlled carefully. If you want to stay on the houseboat, write to the directors in Cairo well in advance requesting a reservation.

The charges for accommodation are not unreasonable in our estimation of similar space in Cairo, but because of the heavy expense involved in maintaining the boat, they may not be as low as some members expect. It would be good, of course, if we could operate a subsidized hostel for our members, but given both the flood of visitors whose numbers we could never expect to handle and the stiff cost of newly acquired living space in Egypt now, it is impossible at this time. Still it is in the interest of the ARCE to keep the "Fostat" full. Please take advantage of this service, particularly if you've never had the chance to sample life down on the river.

1983 ANNUAL MEETING

This coming year we will meet in Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 22-24. Please attend if you can but make plans early especially if you intend to contribute a paper. We hope to have a complete program organized by January 1983. If there are any questions or suggestions for this meeting, contact Professor Ernest Abdel-Massih, ARCE Program Chairman for 1983 (address: Director, Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, 144 Lane Hall, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109). You can also write to us in the New York office.

Paul E. Walker

Collège de France
Égyptologie



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